

# ***How Are We Supposed to Write with Something like That? Early Employment of the Chinese Script to Write Japanese as Exemplified by the *Man'yōshū*<sup>1</sup>***

## ***A. Well, our speech is somewhat simpler... (Old Japanese Phonology)***

The Old Japanese phonological system, as seen in the “*Man'yōshū*” (Roman alphabet), and the common “Modern” Japanese transcription thereof (hiragana) can be presented as follows (cf. Miyake 2003):

<i>a</i> あ	<i>i</i> い		<i>u</i> う	<i>e</i> え		<i>o</i> お	
<i>ka</i> か	<i>ki</i> <sub>1</sub> き	<i>ki</i> <sub>2</sub> き	<i>ku</i> く	<i>ke</i> <sub>1</sub> け	<i>ke</i> <sub>2</sub> け	<i>ko</i> <sub>1</sub> こ	<i>ko</i> <sub>2</sub> こ
<i>ga</i> が	<i>gi</i> <sub>1</sub> ぎ	<i>gi</i> <sub>2</sub> ぎ	<i>gu</i> ぐ	<i>ge</i> <sub>1</sub> げ	<i>ge</i> <sub>2</sub> げ	<i>go</i> <sub>1</sub> ご	<i>go</i> <sub>2</sub> ご
<i>sa</i> さ	<i>si</i> し		<i>su</i> す	<i>se</i> せ		<i>so</i> <sub>1</sub> そ	<i>so</i> <sub>2</sub> そ
<i>za</i> ざ	<i>zi</i> じ		<i>zu</i> ず	<i>ze</i> ぜ		<i>zo</i> <sub>1</sub> ぞ	<i>zo</i> <sub>2</sub> ぞ
<i>ta</i> た	<i>ti</i> ち		<i>tu</i> つ	<i>te</i> て		<i>to</i> <sub>1</sub> と	<i>to</i> <sub>2</sub> と
<i>da</i> だ	<i>di</i> ぢ		<i>du</i> づ	<i>de</i> で		<i>do</i> <sub>1</sub> ど	<i>do</i> <sub>2</sub> ど
<i>na</i> な	<i>ni</i> に		<i>nu</i> ぬ	<i>ne</i> ね		<i>no</i> <sub>1</sub> の	<i>no</i> <sub>2</sub> の
<i>pa</i> は	<i>pi</i> <sub>1</sub> ひ	<i>pi</i> <sub>2</sub> ひ	<i>pu</i> ふ	<i>pe</i> <sub>1</sub> へ	<i>pe</i> <sub>2</sub> へ	<i>po</i> ほ	
<i>ba</i> ば	<i>bi</i> <sub>1</sub> び	<i>bi</i> <sub>2</sub> び	<i>bu</i> ぶ	<i>be</i> <sub>1</sub> べ	<i>be</i> <sub>2</sub> べ	<i>bo</i> ぼ	
<i>ma</i> ま	<i>mi</i> <sub>1</sub> み	<i>mi</i> <sub>2</sub> み	<i>mu</i> む	<i>me</i> <sub>1</sub> め	<i>me</i> <sub>2</sub> め	<i>mo</i> も	
<i>ya</i> や			<i>yu</i> ゆ	<i>ye</i> え		<i>yo</i> <sub>1</sub> よ	<i>yo</i> <sub>2</sub> よ
<i>ra</i> ら	<i>ri</i> り		<i>ru</i> る	<i>re</i> れ		<i>ro</i> <sub>1</sub> ろ	<i>ro</i> <sub>2</sub> ろ
<i>wa</i> わ	<i>wi</i> ゐ			<i>we</i> ゑ		<i>wo</i> を	

The vocalic distinction (<sub>1</sub> versus <sub>2</sub>) is very important linguistically, but for literary purposes (or while reading for pleasure) it can be ignored – as it often is in Japanese works, hence no differentiation is usually made in the hiragana transcription.

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<sup>1</sup> The present contribution is conceived as teaching material for a seminar of some ninety minutes, during which students – already possessing rudimentary knowledge of Modern Japanese (including its written form), but being complete novices to Old Japanese – are to be painlessly introduced to the highly complex methods of noting down the earliest attested version of Japanese. No prior knowledge of Old or Classical Japanese grammar is required.

The *narration* here is conducted from the point of view of the Japanese who for the first time attempt to commit to paper words of their own language, and have nothing but the Chinese script at their disposal. All examples are taken from the “*Man'yōshū*” and their location is shown by the book number in Roman numerals followed by the poem number in Arabic numerals.

## B. Are these characters really the simplest thing you have? (Chinese Script in China)

Chinese character = meaning + reading

古 = ‘old’ + \**kɔ*’ (6<sup>th</sup> cent.) || *gũ* (20<sup>th</sup> cent.) [cf. Sino-Japanese *ko*]

## C. Let’s take the sense (Chinese Characters Used in Japan for Their Meaning: Semantograms, *mana* 真名)

古 → ‘old’ → *puru*- (≈ Modern Japanese *kun’yomi*)

The character 古 conveys the meaning of ‘old’, so it can be used for Japanese ‘old’, i.e. ふる… *puru*-; hence: 古衣 (XI: 2626) = ふるころも *puru-ko<sub>2</sub>ro<sub>2</sub>mo* ‘old clothes’.

- a) 千鳥鳴 (IV: 526) = ‘a thousand birds sing || a plover sings’ = ちどりなく *ti-do<sub>2</sub>ri naku*
- b) 風吹 | 海荒 (VII: 1309) = ‘[although] the wind blows and the sea is rough/stormy’ = かぜふきて | うみはある[とも] *kaze puki<sub>1</sub>te | umi<sub>1</sub> pa aru [to<sub>2</sub> mo]*
- c) 音聞 | 目者未見 | 吉野川 (VII: 1105) = ‘the Yoshino river, which I have heard of [= which I know only by hearsay], but which I have not seen yet with my own eyes’ = おとにきき | めにはいまだみぬ | よしのがは *oto<sub>2</sub> ni ki<sub>1</sub>ki<sub>1</sub> | me<sub>2</sub> ni pa imada mi<sub>1</sub>nu | Yo<sub>2</sub>sino<sub>1</sub>-gapa*
- d) 落黄葉 (II: 137) = ‘the falling yellow/autumnal leaves’ = おつるもみちば *oturu momi<sub>1</sub>ti-ba*
- e) 大雪落有 (II: 103) = ‘heavy [literally, great] snow has fallen [= it has snowed heavily/hard]’ = おほゆきふれり *opo-yuki<sub>1</sub> pureri<sup>2</sup>*

For the modern reader such a notation is equal to: “we know what it means, but we can never be sure how to read it”. In other words it is literarily straightforward, yet linguistically rather useless.

## D. Let’s take the sound (Chinese Characters Used in Japan for Their Phonetic Value: Phonograms, *ongana* 音仮名)

古 → \**kɔ*’ → *ko<sub>1</sub>* (≈ Modern Japanese *on’yomi*) → any syllable *ko<sub>1</sub>* (regardless of the meaning)

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<sup>2</sup> Note that the same character 落 is read differently in the last two examples: *oturu* (*otu*, Modern Japanese *ochiru*) in *d* and *pureri* (*puru*, Modern Japanese *furu*) in *e*, depending on what falls, leaves or snow.

The character 古 is read in Chinese \**kɔ*’, so it can be used to write the syllable *ko*<sub>1</sub>, even though in Japanese *ko*<sub>1</sub> means ‘child’ (not ‘old’); hence: 奈久古 (XV: 3627) = ⟨NA(I)-KYŪ-KO⟩<sup>3</sup> なくこ *naku ko*<sub>1</sub> ‘crying child’.

The Chinese syllables of the sixth and seventh centuries were often much more complicated when compared to those of Old Japanese, and only some parts of them were needed to note down Japanese syllables. If we take the modern Sino-Japanese readings of the characters (*on’yomi*) as rather close to the sixth-century Chinese, then first we have to select the appropriate one from among the several available readings, and afterwards we must transform it in order to obtain the Old Japanese value, i.e. reduce it – roughly speaking – to the model of: “first (non-palatalised) consonant + first (short) vowel”, in accordance with the Old Japanese syllable structure.

- a) 伊志 (V: 869) = ⟨I-SHI⟩ いし *isi* ‘stone’
- b) 等利 (V: 876) = ⟨TŌ-RI⟩ とり *to*<sub>2</sub>*ri* ‘bird’
- c) 許能 (V: 800) = ⟨KYO-NŌ⟩ この *ko*<sub>2</sub>*no*<sub>2</sub> ‘this’
- d) 安吉 (XV: 3688) = ⟨AN-KICHI⟩ あき *aki*<sub>1</sub> ‘autumn’

For the modern reader such a notation is equal to: “we know how to read it, but this does not mean that we know what it means”. Therefore, in this case it is linguistically perfect, but quite challenging, hence it is literarily viable only after interpretation.<sup>4</sup>

- 1. 多 (XX: 4455) = ⟨TA⟩ た *ta* ‘paddy field’
- 2. 卑 (V: 846) = ⟨HI⟩ ひ *pi*<sub>1</sub> ‘day’
- 3. 刀 (XVII: 3894) = ⟨TŌ⟩ と *to*<sub>1</sub> ‘door, gate, entrance’
- 4. 紀 (V: 812) = ⟨KI⟩ き *ki*<sub>2</sub> ‘tree’
- 5. 奈 (V: 871) = ⟨NA(I)⟩ な *na* ‘name’
- 6. 故 (XVIII: 4134) = ⟨KO⟩ こ *ko*<sub>1</sub> ‘child’
- 7. 異麻 (XVII: 3991) = ⟨I-MA⟩ いま *ima* ‘now’
- 8. 加是 (XX: 4514) = ⟨KA-ZE⟩ かぜ *kaze* ‘wind’
- 9. 宇知 (XVII: 3926) = ⟨U-CHI⟩ うち *uti* ‘inside’

<sup>3</sup> Here and below, the angle brackets ⟨...⟩ are put round modern readings of the directly preceding Chinese characters: Sino-Japanese ones (*on’yomi* 音読み) when in SMALL CAPITALS, and native Japanese (*kun’yomi* 訓読み) when not. This is to facilitate the reading of Old Japanese texts at the beginner level, although such a procedure would not be acceptable in serious linguistic works.

<sup>4</sup> The following forty-four examples are intended as the exercise portion for the students, and if given in a handout they should be deprived of all the readings after the equals sign.

10. 多尔 (XIX: 4209) = 〈TA-NI〉 たに *tani* ‘valley’
11. 波志 (XVIII: 4126) = 〈HA-SHI〉 はし *pasi* ‘bridge’
12. 都智 (V: 800) = 〈TSU-CHI〉 つち *tuti* ‘earth, soil’
13. 於登 (V: 841) = 〈O-TŌ〉 おと *oto*<sub>2</sub> ‘sound’
14. 周無 (XVII: 3909) = 〈SHŪ-MU〉 すむ *sumu* ‘to live’
15. 追奇 (XV: 3683) = 〈TSUI-KI〉 つき *tuki*<sub>2</sub> ‘month’
16. 保加 (XVII: 3977) = 〈HO-KA〉 ほか *poka* ‘outside’
17. 所虚 (II: 194) = 〈SHO-KYO〉 そこ *so*<sub>2</sub>*ko*<sub>2</sub> ‘there’
18. 可受 (XV: 3727) = 〈KA-JU〉 かず *kazu* ‘number’
19. 延太 (XV: 3603) = 〈EN-DA〉 えだ *yeda* ‘branch, twig’
20. 也未 (XV: 3669) = 〈YA-MI〉 やみ *yami*<sub>2</sub> ‘darkness’
21. 得之 (V: 830) = 〈TOKU-SHI〉 とし *to*<sub>2</sub>*si* ‘year’
22. 比射 (V: 810) = 〈HI-JA〉 ひざ *pi*<sub>1</sub>*za* ‘knee(s), lap’
23. 布祢 (V: 874) = 〈FU-NE(I)〉 ふね *pune* ‘boat’
24. 由君 (VIII: 1600) = 〈YU-KUN〉 ゆく *yuku* ‘to go’
25. 牟可之 (XV: 3695) = 〈MU-KA-SHI〉 むかし *mukasi* ‘old times, antiquity, the past’
26. 許己呂 (XV: 3627) = 〈KYO-KO-RYO〉 こころ *ko*<sub>2</sub>*ko*<sub>2</sub>*ro*<sub>2</sub> ‘heart’
27. 和多流 (XVII: 3894) = 〈WA-TA-RYŪ〉 わたる *wataru* ‘to cross, to pass’
28. 四具礼 (I: 82) = 〈SHI-GU-REI〉 しぐれ *sigure* ‘late-autumn rain, scattered shower, drizzle’
29. 安我流 (XX: 4434) = 〈AN-GA-RYŪ〉 あがる *agaru* ‘to rise’
30. 阿蘇比 (V: 804) = 〈A-SO-BI〉 あそび *aso*<sub>1</sub>*bi*<sub>1</sub> ‘play(ing)’
31. 余乃奈迦 (V: 804) = 〈YO-NO-NA(I)-KA〉 よのなか *yo*<sub>2</sub> *no*<sub>2</sub> *naka* ‘the world’
32. 知可豆久 (XVII: 3999) = 〈CHI-KA-ZU-KYŪ〉 ちかづく *tikaduku* ‘to approach’
33. 夜麻妣等 (XX: 4294) = 〈YA-MA-HI-TŌ〉 やまびと *yamabi*<sub>1</sub>*to*<sub>2</sub> ‘highlander, mountain-dweller’
34. 久毛能須 (V: 892) = 〈KYŪ-MŌ-NŌ-SU〉 くものす *kumo* *no*<sub>2</sub> *su* ‘cobweb’
35. 許能多氣仁 (V: 873) = 〈KYO-NŌ-TA-KE-NI(N)〉 このたけに *ko*<sub>2</sub>*no*<sub>2</sub> *take*<sub>2</sub> *ni* ‘on (top of) this mountain’
36. 由吉能伊呂 (V: 850) = 〈YŪ-KICHI-NŌ-I-RYO〉 ゆきのいろ *yuki*<sub>1</sub> *no*<sub>2</sub> *iro*<sub>2</sub> ‘the colour of snow’

37. 伎弥乎麻都 (V: 865) = <KI-MI-O-MA-TU> きみをまつ *ki<sub>1</sub>mi<sub>1</sub> wo matu* ‘I am waiting for you’
38. 保登等伎須 (XV: 3783) = <HO-TŌ-TŌ-GI-SU> ほととぎす *poto<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub>gi<sub>1</sub>su* ‘cuckoo’
39. 久毛尔得夫 (V: 847) = <KYŪ-MŌ-NI-TOKU-FU> くもにとぶ *kumo ni to<sub>2</sub>bu* ‘to fly in the clouds’
40. 佐久良婆那 (V: 829) = <SA-KYŪ-RYŌ/RYAU-BA-NA> さくらばな *sakura-bana* ‘cherry blossoms’
41. 奈良能美夜古尔 (XV: 3602) = <NA(I)-RYŌ/RYAU-NŌ-MI-YA-KO-NI> ならのみやこに *Nara no<sub>2</sub> mi<sub>1</sub>yako<sub>1</sub> ni* ‘in the capital of Nara’
42. 和何則能尔 | 宇米能波奈知流 (V: 822) = <WA-GA-SOKU-NŌ-NI | U-MEI-NŌ-HA-NA(I)-CHI-RYŪ> わがそのに | うめのはなちる *wa ga so<sub>2</sub>no<sub>2</sub> ni | ume<sub>2</sub> no<sub>2</sub> pana tiru* ‘in my garden plum blossoms are scattering’
43. 多氣乃波也之尔 | 于具比須奈久母 (V: 824) = <TA-KE-NO-HA-YA-SHI-NI | U-GU-HI-SU-NA(I)-KYŪ-MO> たけのはやしに | うぐひすなくも *take<sub>2</sub> no<sub>2</sub> payasi ni | ugupi<sub>1</sub>su naku mo* ‘a nightingale is even singing in the bamboo grove’
44. 波流能努尔 | 紀理多知和多利 | 布流由岐得 | 比得能美流麻提 | 烏梅能波奈知流 (V: 839) = <HA-RYŪ-NŌ-NU/DO-NI | KI-RI-TA-CHI-WA-TA-RI | FU-RYŪ-YU-KI-TOKU | HI-TOKU-NŌ-MI-RYŪ-MA-TEI | U-ME-NŌ-HA-NA(I)-CHI-RYŪ> はるののに | きりたちわたり | ふるゆきと | ひとのみるまで | うめのはなちる *Paru no<sub>2</sub> no<sub>1</sub> ni | ki<sub>2</sub>ri tati-watari, | puru yuki<sub>1</sub> to<sub>2</sub> | pi<sub>1</sub>to<sub>2</sub> no<sub>2</sub> mi<sub>1</sub>ru made | ume<sub>2</sub> no<sub>2</sub> pana tiru.* ‘The mist is hovering all over the vernal glade, and plum blossoms are scattering to such an extent that people see [them] as falling snow.’

#### E. *Why not go for both? (Parallel Notations)*

- a) 二人 (III: 466) = ふたり *putari* ‘two people’  
布多利 (V: 794), 布多理 (XVIII: 4106) = <FU-TA-RI> ふたり *putari* ‘two people’
- b) 子等 (I: 63), 兒等 (III: 280) = こども *ko<sub>1</sub>do<sub>2</sub>mo* ‘children’  
胡藤母 (V: 802) = <KO-DŌ-MO>, 古等母 (V: 853) = <KO-TŌ-MO> こども *ko<sub>1</sub>do<sub>2</sub>mo* ‘children’
- c) 春楊 (X: 1847) = はるのやなぎ *paru no<sub>2</sub> yanagi<sub>2</sub>* ‘vernal willow’  
波流能也奈宜 (V: 826) = <HA-RYŪ-NŌ-YA-NA-GI> はるのやなぎ *paru no<sub>2</sub> yanagi<sub>2</sub>* ‘vernal willow’

- d) 古衣 (XI: 2626) = ふるころも *puru-ko<sub>2</sub>ro<sub>2</sub>mo* ‘old clothes’  
 布流久佐 (XIV: 3452) = <FU-RYŪ-KYŪ-SA> ふるくさ *puru-kusa* ‘old grass’

**F. If we already have two possibilities, we could use all three of them (Mixed Notation, *majiribun* 交り文)**

- a) 之路髮 (XVII: 3922) = <SHI-RO-kami> しろかみ *siro<sub>1</sub>-kami<sub>1</sub>* ‘grey hair’  
 b) 行人毛 (VIII: 1532) = <yuku-hito-MŌ> ゆくひとも *yuku pi<sub>1</sub>to<sub>2</sub> mo* ‘even those who go (away)’  
 c) 父母乎 | 美礼婆 (V: 800) = <chichi-haha-O | MI-REI-BA> ちははを | みれば *titi papa wo | mi<sub>1</sub>reba* ‘when I see my father and my mother’

**G. Oh, this is fun – and it can go even better! (Rebuses)**

**G.1. Simple Rebuses (*kungana* 訓仮名)**

手 → ‘hand’ → *te* (≈ Modern Japanese *kun’yomi*) → any syllable *te* (regardless of the meaning)

The character 手 conveys the meaning of ‘hand’, which is *te* in Japanese, so it can also be used to write the syllable *te*, even when it does not mean ‘hand’; hence: 見手 (III: 277) = ‘see’ + ‘hand’ = <mi(ru)-te> みて *mi<sub>1</sub>te* ‘having seen’.

- a) 三々 (XI: 2581) = ‘three’ + ‘three’ = <mi(ttsu)-mi(ttsu)> みみ *mi<sub>1</sub>mi<sub>1</sub>* ‘ear’  
 b) 名草目手 (XI: 2826) = ‘name’ + ‘grass’ + ‘eye’ + ‘hand’ = <na-kusa-me-te> || 名草目而 (IX: 1728) = ‘name’ + ‘grass’ + ‘eye’ + ‘and (then)’ = <na-kusa-me-te> なぐさめて *nagusame<sub>2</sub>te* ‘having consoled oneself’  
 c) 酢堅 (IV: 778) = ‘vinegar’ + ‘hard’ = <su-kata(i)> すがた *sugata* ‘figure, shape, form’  
 d) 荒足 (VII: 1101) = ‘fierce, rough, violent’ + ‘leg’ = <ara(i)-ashi> あらし *arasi* ‘storm’  
 e) 野庭 (X: 1825) = ‘meadow’ + ‘garden’ = <no-niwa> のには *no<sub>1</sub> ni pa* ‘on the meadow / in the glade’  
 f) 見管 (I: 17) = ‘to see, to look’ + ‘tube’ = <mi(ru)-tsutsu> みつつ *mi<sub>1</sub>tutu* ‘looking’

- g) 開戸手 (XIII: 3321) = ‘to open’ + ‘door’ + ‘hand’ = ⟨to-o-ake(ru)-te⟩  
とをあけて *to<sub>1</sub> wo ake<sub>2</sub>te* ‘having opened the door’
- h) 名毛伎 (VII: 1383) = ‘name’ + ‘hair’ + ⟨KI⟩ = ⟨na-ke-KI⟩ なげき  
*nage<sub>2</sub>ki<sub>1</sub>* ‘sigh’<sup>5</sup>

## G.2. Elaborate Rebuses (*gisho* 戯書 / *gikun* 戯訓)

- a) 牛鳴 = ‘moo, mooing’ = ⟨mu⟩ む *mu*; cf. 戌牛鳴 (XI: 2839) = ‘to guard, to protect’ + ‘moo, mooing’ = ⟨mamor(u)-mu⟩ まもらむ *mamoramu* ‘I should have guarded/protected’
- b) 十六 (III: 239) = 16 = 4 × 4 = 四 × 四 = ⟨SI-SI⟩ しし *sisi* ‘game – animals hunted for food (in particular, deer or wild boar)’ (cf. Modern Japanese *inoshishi* 猪 ‘wild boar’)
- c) 二八十一 (XI: 2542) = 2 + 81 = 2 + {9 × 9} = 二 + {九 × 九} = ⟨NI-KU-KU⟩ にくく *nikuku* ‘unpleasant(ly)/obnoxious(ly)/disagreeable’
- d) 馬聲蜂音石花蜘蛛荒鹿 (XII: 2991) = 馬聲 ‘neigh, whinny’ + 蜂音 ‘humming, buzzing (of bees, insects)’ + 石花 ‘coral (literally, stone flower)’ + 蜘蛛 ‘spider’ + 荒 ‘to rave, to be rough’ + 鹿 ‘deer’ = ⟨i-bu-se-kumo-ar(u)-ka⟩ いぶせくもあるか *ibuseku mo aru ka?* ‘is it [not] sad/sorrowful/melancholy/depressing?’
- e) 山上復有山 (IX: 1787) = ‘on top of a mountain (山) there is yet another mountain (山)’ = 𡵓 + 𡵓 = 出 = 出 = ‘to go/come out, to appear’ = ⟨ide(ru)⟩ いで *ide* ‘[if it] comes out / appears’ (cf. Modern Japanese *deru* 出る, and *o-ide ni naru* 御出でに成る)
- f) 二々火 (XIII: 3298) = {2 × 2} + ‘fire’ = 4 + ‘south’ (in the Chinese theory of Five Elements fire is associated with the southerly direction) = 四 + 南 (6<sup>th</sup>-cent. Chinese: \**nam*, cf. Sino-Japanese *nan*) = ⟨SI-NAM<sup>U</sup>⟩ しなむ *sinamu* ‘let me die [= I would rather die]’

In the traditional classification of various notational modes for Old Japanese, the phonetic one (called [1] *man'yōgana* 万葉仮名, and encompassing both [1a] *ongana* 音仮名 and [1b] *kungana* 訓仮名) is contrasted with the semantic one ([2] *mana* 真名), elaborate rebuses ([3]

<sup>5</sup> In examples *f* and *g* simple rebuses are combined with semantograms (*f*: 見 ‘to see’, *g*: 開戸 ‘to open the door’), and in *h* – with a phonogram (伎 *ki*).

*gisho* 戲書) being usually left aside (Satō 2001).<sup>6</sup> Compare the synopsis at the end of the present contribution.

Finally it must once again be stressed that the vocalic distinctions (<sub>1</sub> versus <sub>2</sub>), which have largely been ignored above, constitute an Old Japanese phonological feature of cardinal importance. Yet, in order to establish the type of the vowel one cannot use modern readings of the Chinese characters, but one must refer to dictionaries of Old Japanese or *man'yōgana* lists that specify them (e.g. Igarashi 1969, JKD-J, Vovin 2005). Another point only cursorily mentioned above is the question of bisyllabic *ongana*, i.e. a situation when the syllable-final Chinese consonant is not ignored but rather serves as the beginning of the second syllable, cf. 南 (6<sup>th</sup>-cent. Chinese: \**nam*, Sino-Japanese *nan*) = ⟨NAM<sup>U</sup>⟩ なむ *namu* in the very last example (for more on this problem, see Osterkamp 2011).

### ***And we still want more! (Selected Bibliography)***

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<sup>6</sup> The term *man'yōgana* 万葉仮名 is the commoner one and it stresses the value of the “Man'yōshū” as the source of our knowledge of the Old Japanese phonology; but in the same sense one also uses the term *magana* 真仮名, which is supposed to be more neutral as it does not suggest that the “Man'yōshū” is the first text in which such a notation was used (which it certainly is not). The modern concept of *kana* 仮名 as a phonetic script (regardless of its origin) clearly lies at the roots of this classification.



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Man'yōshū monument (*Man'yō no kahi* 万葉の歌碑),  
in the *Kyōdo no mori* (Native forest) museum of Fuchū City 府中市郷土の森博物館, Tokyo Metropolis.

## Old Japanese Script – Synopsis

